NATIONAL REVIEW

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July 5, 1958

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Nuclear Irresistibility: The Great Fallacy

T. G. W. SETTLE

Animals on the Loose

JOHANNES EFF

The Way of the Humanist

FORREST DAVIS

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . L. BRENT BOZELL

WILLMOORE KENDALL · HOLGER CAHILL · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

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For the Record

Look for new and explosive developments in l'affaire Sherman Adams, something to do with the purchase of a house. . . . Political analysts who predicted the loss of twenty Republican seats in the House next November now are upping that figure. . . . In the lively New York Republican gubernatorial battle, conservative Walter Mahoney is given a slight edge over Leonard Hall and Nelson Rockefeller.

Mr. Christopher Emmet, chairman of the American Friends of the Captive Nations, has called on the United Nations General Assembly to reconvene and withdraw its tacit recognition of the Hungarian Government in protest against the executions of Nagy and Maleter. . . . The Administration's bill to grant the President authority to send U.S. aid to the puppet Kadar government in Hungary had the votes of 42 Senators. It was defeated by only one vote. . . . Senate-House conferees have agreed on a bill authorizing $3,675 million in foreign aid funds for the next twelve months. The "drastic cut" demanded in Senate speeches back in January when the President presented his budget came to $279 million.

An object lesson in how not to fight inflation: the Government's sudden announcement that it would buy an additional 150,000 tons of copper at up to 27½¢ a pound, or up to 2½¢ above the market price at the time of the announcement. . . . France's Gallup Poll, the Institute of Public Opinion, reports that 54 per cent of the French people approve de Gaulle's return to power.

A young woman doctor was executed after a secret trial in Budapest last month. Her crime: treating the wounded and dying freedom fighters in last year's rebellion. . . . At the same time that Marshal Tito deplored the execution of Imre Nagy, a Yugoslav court condemned to death Milos Tomic, an anti-Nazi, but also anti-Communist Yugoslav wartime guerrilla. . . . The new Soviet slogan with neutral and satellite nations: "Look Not to the West — Look at Hungary."

The bellringer among last week's headlines on the refusal of certain TV officials, including the producer of "I've Got a Secret," to answer questions put to them by the House Committee on Un-American Activities — in the New York Daily News:

"Got a Secret"
Man Keeps His
CBS Fires Him

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The WEEK

● Senator Hubert Humphrey declared in, appropriately enough, an address to the American Nurses' Association, that we can win "the cold war" with "warm hearts." On that basis, we nominate Bernie (Vicuña) Goldfine as chief of cold war operations. We never heard of a warmer, wider, or more nonpartisan heart than he has been displaying these past five years.

● Although there has lately been swelling (and nearly unanimous) criticism of the exhibits displayed in Edward D. Stone's elegant American building at the Brussels World's Fair, no one as yet has raised the obvious question: who is responsible for them? We have heard that, under U.S. Commissioner Howard Cullman's slipshod eye, control of exhibit arrangements was turned over to a curiously qualified pair: one in effect an expatriate, the other a Leftist, both explicitly contemptuous of American culture. If true, the poor showing maybe makes a good deal of sense, one way you look at it.

NATIONAL REVIEW'S summer schedule begins this week. During July and August, we will publish only fortnightly. Do not expect an issue next week!

● Not since the Hungarian revolution itself has there been such widespread condemnation of the Soviet Union. But were the hands of the West innocent of the murders of Nagy and Maleter? No, says the Reverend Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald,* reminding us that by our vacillation and lack of moral resolution we helped set the scene for the hangings and the firing squads. "There were four days," the Rev. Mr. Poling said, "when in the opinion [even] of Tito, recognition by the United States of the Nagy government would have saved the revolution. Nothing more than this was required. Red Russia waited until she knew we would not act—and then she came. . . . Now Imre Nagy and his associates have been executed with typical Stalinesque brutality. The free world voices its horror, but what of that?"

● The United Nations' Special Committee on the problem of Hungary reconvened to discuss the murder of Nagy and Maleter, and if the members felt a little uncomfortable, we can understand why. For they met (and proceeded to adjourn *sine die* after "deploring" the executions) without Mr. Povl Bang-Jensen, the brilliant and devoted international civil servant who guided the Committee during its investigations last year and was principally responsible for the superb Report on Hungary. Bang-Jensen has been suspended, and the machinery is in motion to expel him—for insubordination. He refused to turn over to the Secretary General the names of the Hungarian witnesses from whom he had got the data on which the Report was based—on the grounds that in the Communist-honeycombed UN, the names would not be secure. In refusing, Bang-Jensen protected Hungarians from Soviet retaliation. It is strange that the UN should simultaneously recall a committee to deplore the execution of Hungarian patriots while proceeding against a civil servant who did one man's best to protect other Hungarians from a similar fate.

● We *still* say: *Watch the French Communists.* And if you are one of those who are very sure that the French Communists don't need watching, listen a little to foreign correspondent C. L. Sulzberger: French Communist leader Maurice Thorez, he writes, "knows he is in for the fight of his life." "This battle is for double-or-nothing stakes . . . Gaullists like André Malraux . . . say openly: You can't talk of a democratic system when you have in its midst a powerful Communist organism . . . [Thorez] is sure de Gaulle intends to suppress the Communists . . . [He therefore] is sponsoring throughout France Committees for the Defense of the Republic. He claims thousands of these already exist . . . [And he] adds cryptically: 'We count on the . . . Committees . . . They will find arms . . . We have knowledge of military affairs. We are all soldiers. We know how to fight.' "

● Our green Secretary of Defense, Neil H. McElroy, in one of those public slips that make Washington old-timers shake their heads sadly, gave the show away. Congress, acting under its constitutional mandate "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces," had called Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, to testify on the Administration's Pentagon reorganization bill. Admiral Burke, speaking the truth to which he was sworn, criticized some of the White House proposals. "I am disappointed in him, regard it as regrettable," fumed the furious Defense Secretary on learning what Admiral Burke had said. "I don't see how a service chief can fail to be aware of the strong interest of the President." The implied threat was plain, and Mr. McElroy's reaction confirmed the charge that the heart of the White House bill is in reality not a military or strategic issue, but a political maneuver by the Executive to usurp the

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Legislature's authority to support and regulate the nation's military establishment. Secretary McElroy's ill-timed rudeness to one of the nation's most respected officers guarantees that the White House is not going to get away with it.

● This business about the privacy of one's political beliefs is becoming positively surrealistic. We have copies of a correspondence between a gentleman and Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the *New York Times*. The correspondent wanted to know whether Robert L. Duffus, of the *Times*' editorial staff, who had reviewed a recent book by Henry J. Taylor for the *Times*, was "an erstwhile socialist." To which Mr. Sulzberger answered that he had high respect for Duffus and "whether Mr. Duffus was *or is* a Socialist is not my concern." (Our emphasis.) Why isn't it his concern? If Mr. Duffus is a socialist (we haven't the slightest idea whether he is) and writes editorials for the *Times* and reviews books for the *Times*, isn't it relevant to ask whether he shares the *Times*' putative premises about the desirable economic and political order? It is not anyone's right to prosecute a man in a free country for being a socialist, but it is *every* employer's right to enquire whether a man's beliefs qualify him for employment in an enterprise committed to a particular set of values. The confusion in Mr. Sulzberger's thinking is very likely caused by exposure to the mystifications on the subject of freedom of thought in his own newspaper; some of them written by Mr. Duffus.

● Tex McCrary, public relations counsel (unpaid) for the Eisenhower Administration, said over the air that if Goldfine had been called Smith, there'd have been no ruckus about his relationship with Sherman Adams. Mr. McCrary's style of arguing has not changed since the days he was telling voters not to nominate so corrupt a man as Robert Taft.

● A masonry contractor, who always uses union men, was driven to complain when the Operating Engineers Union forced him to hire a man (at $32.00 per diem) whose sole function is to turn the conveyor motor switch on in the morning, off and on at lunch, and off at quitting time. When the president of the union was asked whether he thought it "right to have a man standing around all day doing nothing," he answered without any visible embarrassment, "Don't *you* ever stand around doing nothing?" Next question.

● Those old bourgeois conventions just can't be downed, not even in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the latest best-seller in Leningrad attests. Written by Russia's Emylovna Postovitch and entitled *Etiquettsky*, it starts out with a series of "don'ts." "Don't talk with your mouth full." "Don't stub out cigarettes on the furniture." "Don't eat peas with your knife" and, finally, "Don't blow on your soup. If absolutely necessary, pour it into the saucer and fan it with your hat." And that's what she says, so helpsky.

Back to Reality

What happens in a free society, an organic society, when an attempt is made to impose a doctrinaire pattern of life which controverts customs and manners of long-standing duration? Either there is a continuing reign of violence and blood, as in Volstead-era Chicago, or some way is found to mitigate the application of the unwanted law.

Fortunately, a wise federal judge, Harry J. Lemley, has decided that mitigation is in order in the Little Rock, Arkansas, Central High School case. In ordering suspension of integration at Central High for two and one-half years, Judge Lemley has not flouted the "law"—which the impetus of tradition still dictates as the proper designation for decisions by the Supreme Court. He has merely recognized that education, whether integrated or not, is impossible in an environment of bayonets and khaki uniforms. The situation in Central High, said the Judge, "we have found to be intolerable from an educational standpoint."

To distract children from their classroom tasks is easy under the best of circumstances. It is impossible to hold their attention, teacher after teacher testified before Judge Lemley, in the climate of tension, hate and fear which prevailed at Central High last year. The situation was such that a chemistry teacher who had no Negroes in her class was unable to cover the ground she had covered in previous years and refused, "in fairness" to her pupils to allow them to take a national examination in which Central High students had always come out well.

In Little Rock, the net result of the Supreme Court ruling that segregated schools are discriminatory so far has been that 2,000 adolescents were educationally discriminated against last year. (In Washington, D.C., where the experiment is three years old, educational standards have fallen off sharply and all of the children, white and colored alike, are suffering from it.)

The Lemley decision is, of course, an extension of what is essentially an adventure in judicial sociology. It is an executive order, not a judicial ruling. But sociology has been imposed on Judge Lemley by the original integration decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. Since there is nothing in the Constitution that provides for imposing a single mode of equal

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education on the states, the Warren Court was guilty of usurping the prerogatives of the legislatures in the first place. Furthermore, in ordering federal judges to apply integration with "deliberate" speed, the Supreme Court has virtually compelled the federal judiciary to become an arm of the executive. One cannot administer varying speed in integration without admitting that the law, somewhere, is being deliberately overlooked.

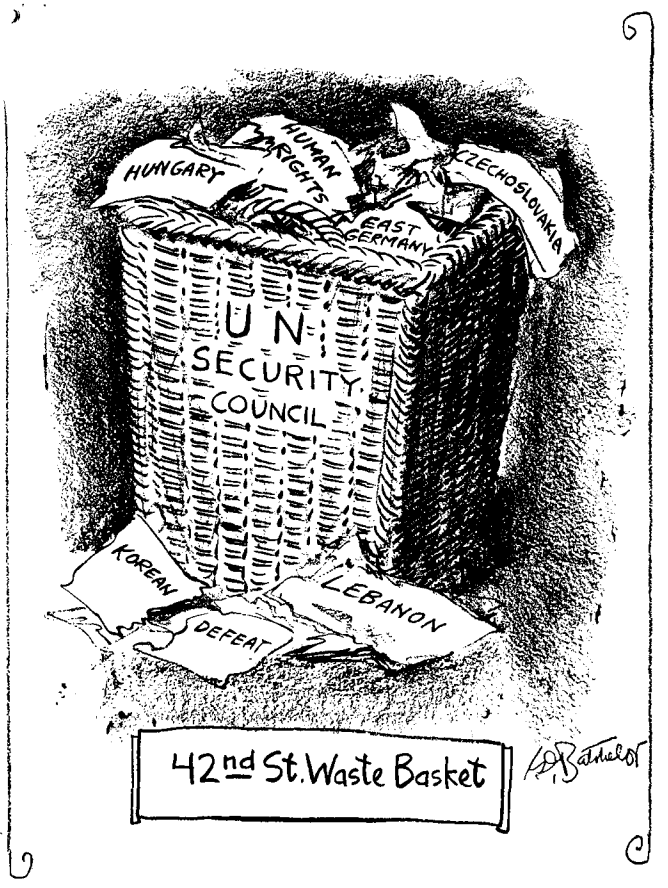
We do not doubt that school integration will come in many of the border states in its own good time. But until integration flowers freely out of local understanding, the judge-made law of the Warren Court will require many more Lemley decisions if education is not itself to become a casualty.

Straining at Gnats

You would think Sherman Adams had taken an axe to Eleanor Roosevelt. Not only the Liberals, but the whole nation, it seems, is having itself an *auto da fé* prior to the public execution of the President's right-hand man.

As Mr. Bozell wrote last week, the understandable temptation for American conservatives is to look away whenever anyone goes after Sherman Adams. We have no use for Mr. Adams, never have, and have always contended, on surveying the shambles of American conservatism that traces back to the conspiracy to deprive the nation of the services of Robert Taft, that Sherman Adams has much to answer for. Mr. Adams forwarded that conspiracy artfully and unscrupulously. On reaching power he persecuted conservatives throughout the nation, egged the President along towards some of his most grotesque decisions, pre-empted authority by muscling Mr. Nixon out of the way when Eisenhower was incapacitated, and exercised his overlordship of the White House with a despotic efficiency which has had the effect of alienating the President from reality.

A society has the right to insist on its own folkways, its own ritual observances. But the kind of heated preoccupation being shown over the substantively insignificant fact that Mr. Adams accepted the lavish hospitality of an old friend in whose behalf he subsequently made routine inquiries, suggests a compulsive search for a neat little opportunity to affirm our moral sensitivity. Our nation—and most particularly its publicists—has become hard to shock; any refugee from the Soviet world, or GI alumnus of a Communist prisoner-of-war camp, will testify to that. Are we witnessing, in the Sherman Adams case, a corporate attempt to suppress the guilt that should torment us in virtue of our morally indefensible accommodation of barbarism all over the world? By means of a noisy and censorious insistence on a kind of other-worldly scrupulosity in the relationship of two men of flesh and blood?



It may be argued that the irruption of Communism is not something we can do anything about, and that therefore we are relieved of any moral responsibility for the fate of China, or the execution of Nagy. Very well then—assume that to be the case. Who, then, to bring the matter home, obstructed justice in the case of Adam Clayton Powell Jr.? It has not been contended that Sherman Adams violated a law in what he is known to have done in behalf of Goldfine. It has been *demonstrated*, on the other hand, that an attempt was made corruptly to obstruct justice in the grand-jury investigation of Adam Powell—and for reasons (a political pay-off) far baser than yielding to the impulses of a lucrative personal friendship. Why does not the press—or the Congress—rise up and find out about that? Why not brood a little over the relation between the money put up by organized labor for, say, Senator McNamara of Michigan (an estimated $750,000 in 1954) and his performance in the Senate?

So far as we can see, there is nothing intrinsically immoral in what Adams did. But what he did *was* foolish. Sherman Adams is a professional politician with, incidentally, highly articulated views on the nature of political morality. We do not feel anyone has yet adduced evidence that Sherman Adams abused his oath of office or the canons of ethical

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political conduct. But he *has* offended a great many people, and it is the business of the politician not so much to inquire why it is that people are sometimes offended by innocent deeds, but rather to refrain from offending them (unless principle dictates the offense.) Having offended them, one loses political prestige—and political authority. Sherman Adams is thus guilty of gross political ineptitude. That might be easily forgiven in a man of principle. Less easily in a man whose political philosophy—middle-of-the-road—implicitly forswears principle.

Bound Volumes

NATIONAL REVIEW will shortly have available a limited number of indexed bound volumes covering the period from January 1957 through June 14, 1958. These three volumes are: Volume III (Jan.-June, 1957); Volume IV (July-Dec., 1957) and Volume V (Jan.-June, 1958). Prices: $20.00 the volume, two for $35.00, three for $50.00. But the supply is strictly limited, and orders will be filled on a first come, first served basis. Please send your request as soon as possible. All orders will be acknowledged immediately, and the volumes will be sent as soon as available. Write Dept. K, NATIONAL REVIEW, 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

Couldn't it Happen Here?

We have tried to get a statement from an American scientist on the propriety of the acceptance by Drs. Linus Pauling and Detlev Bronk, of membership in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. We have not been successful. Not, we like to think, because all scientists are as morally confused as those who qualify for election to the Soviet Academy; but because there seems to be a sticky fraternal clannishness in the air, which has the effect of silencing criticism by scientists of acts of moral turpitude when they are committed by members of the club.

We turn, then, to Europe, and to the words of Professor Wilhelm Roepke, published once before on these pages, written to the secretary of the International Association of Political Science, declining election to that body:

> For more than a quarter of a century I have devoted all my energies to the struggle against the scourge of our age, that is, totalitarianism in all its forms and shades, brown or red . . . I believe I have come, in following that course, to understand the essence of totalitarianism and its expansionist tactics, in connection with which it can always count strongly upon the voluntary cooperation of a certain tired kind of liberalism, sufficiently blind to apply principles of toleration and reasoned discussion to the worst intolerance the world has ever seen, without noticing that it thereby commits an act that is treasonable, suicidal—and stupid. Where brown totalitarianism is concerned, I daresay you and I see eye to eye. You would have refused, no less indignantly than I did, an invitation to join a learned society which, by receiving them with open arms, would have given the National Socialists an opportunity to cover up their crimes and their plans of conquest with pretenses regarding science, whose most elementary principles their ideology denied, and regarding tolerance, which they merely exploited, in order to sow intellectual and moral confusion . . .
>
> Such an invitation as I have mentioned would, undoubtedly, have struck you as an expression of contempt, cynical and extreme, for the intended dupes, and you would have declined it as an insult to your intelligence . . . I [choose] to stand today and tomorrow with those who believe it their duty to resist.

The Brothers Rockefeller: Had Again

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund Report on Educational Needs, some aspects of which are discussed in Mr. Bozell's Washington column in this issue, invites three comments:

1) It consists entirely of platitudes and *non sequiturs*. 2) This is not surprising, since the "panel" that produced it are famed not for their past contributions to educational theory but for the jobs they hold in the educational system. (As Eric Voegelin is always reminding us, you cannot reform a system by enlisting the ideas and efforts of those whose shortcomings have got that system into trouble.) 3) Considerations of good taste might well have dictated a release-date somewhat more peripheral to the period when Brother Nelson's political fortunes, which are likely to be improved by the report's plug for federal aid, are about to be decided. (Why New Yorkers like federal aid to education we can't imagine, since they will certainly foot more than their share of the bill; but they do.)

Of *course* our deepest concern is for "human excellence"; of *course* we place a high value upon the "opportunity of the individual to develop his talents"; of *course* we must keep on rethinking our educational problems with an eye to the fact that ours is a rapidly changing society. But the correct inference from these banalities is that we need, as perhaps no other nation ever did, all the hard thinking about education that we can elicit from our best minds; nor could the Rockefeller Brothers Fund perform more service than to get that thinking done for us.

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That, however, is not what the Rockefeller project here in question has sought to do: its thinkers are unoriginal, and what thinking they have done relates, as their recommendations show, not to education but to the reform of American society in accordance with existing Liberal blueprints. We should make fuller use of the talents of women? No doubt. We should "rehabilitate" the distressed segments of our population? By all (capitalist) means. To these ends we should shoot the works on federal aid to education? A *non sequitur*, on the face of it.

But the main point is that these are proposals not about education but the financing of education, which is something you think hard about *after* you have thought hard about education itself: its content, its purposes, its philosophy, and, above all, the question whether it is one of those goods that, by their very nature, diminish in quantity when the attempt is made to expand their supply too rapidly. And the Rockefeller panel, who merely repeat the NEA line, seem not to have thought very hard even about the financing.

There Oughta Be a Law . . .

Mr. Murray Kempton of the *New York Post* has, after all these years, found himself a witch, and in hunting her down, he shows clearly that the joys of the chase belong to all men, regardless of race, color, creed, or political affiliation. Murray Kempton specializes in Looking People in the Face. His point, made over and over again, is that all men are different and therefore generalizations are useless. So that what is important about Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, for example, is not that she is an agent of the Soviet Union, but that she is a woman, getting on in years, and a crusading type: therefore any legislation which ends her up in jail (as the Smith Act has) for advocating the violent overthrow of the government, is ungallant and would never have been enacted if the legislators had Looked Comrade, or rather Miss Flynn in the Face.

Murray Kempton has had a hard time developing a purposive grievance against any Communist, particularly a Communist who has been brought to light by what he grandly calls "legislative snoopers," *i.e.*, people whose Faces are not worth looking in. But last week found Mr. Kempton, in response to a compelling emergency, exchanging his plowshare for a knife. The villain: Mr. Irving Ferman—not a Communist, but full-time Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union. The crime: Mr. Ferman supported Brent Bozell in Mr. Bozell's successful fight for the Republican nomination to the state legislature of Maryland. The reason—as advanced by Mr. Ferman: "Mr. Bozell has an extremely sober, keen, and well trained mind, and his election would add much to the state legislature."

Mr. Kempton's terms: Ferman must be fired from the American Civil Liberties Union because Bozell is a well-known McCarthyite. Mr. Ferman is, one might say, a security risk within the ACLU. Perhaps Mr. Kempton will call for an investigation to find out who hired Mr. Ferman in the first place—and who advanced him?

Who Promoted Ferman?

Well, well. Irving Ferman believes the best interests of Maryland would be served if Brent Bozell reached public office. *Ergo*, he is unfit to serve on the American Civil Liberties Union. A few years ago the American Committee for Cultural Freedom brooded over a resolution calling for the dismissal of James Burnham from its executive committee—on the grounds that he had written an introduction for a book by Medford Evans which affronted the sensibilities of some members of the committee. The exercise of his civil liberties by Mr. Ferman (whose performance in behalf of the ACLU has never, to our knowledge, been criticized) calls for a little witch-hunting by the civil libertarians; just as the exercise of his cultural freedom by James Burnham called for a little book-burning by the fire-fighters of the Open Society. In a word, one is free, where Mr. Kempton is concerned, to advocate the violent overthrow of the government. Only don't advocate Bozell for public office. To do so and affect to be interested in civil liberties is "properly describable as disgusting." And Murray Kempton will not even look in your face.

Around here we have a high personal regard for Kempton. He is bright, and funny, and literate, and personable. He is also about the nearest thing to a walking Kreuttner cartoon. Moral? If you want job security in the American Civil Liberties Union, you gotta vote right—that is, Left.

Our Contributors: The distinguished career of Vice Admiral T. G. W. SETTLE (Ret.) ("Nuclear Irresistibility: The Great Fallacy") has spanned both world wars and the Korean "police action." Between world wars he devoted ten years to airships. Most of his professional life has been spent in the Near and Far East and in Europe. . . . The varied interests of HOLGER CAHILL ("Autobiography of a Chinese Family") include chiefly art and fiction. He is an authority on American primitives, and among his many books is *American Folk Art.* His latest novel is *The Shadow of My Hand.* . . . JOHANNES EFF ("Animals on the Loose"), in his more serious moments and under his real name, teaches philosophy in a local university.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

A Crisis Exploded

For the Rockefellers, the timing couldn't have been worse. I have before me their report on education, issued last Monday, which explains once over again, and even more shrilly than is customary, the trouble with U.S. education: not *nearly* enough money. And alongside it, the hottest thing on the subject in years—a volume called *School Needs in the Decade Ahead,* which made its appearance six days following the Rockefeller effort and thereupon rendered it and just about everything else in the field obsolete. The book reflects an exhaustive study of public school finances conducted by the Institute of Social Science Research, and comes out now under the byline of Mr. Roger Freeman, former research director for the Education Committee of the Eisenhower Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and consultant on school finance to the White House Conference on Education. I don't say that the ISSR study is unanswerable, but I do say that prevailing dogma in the field cannot go on being taught until it is answered. The charts, tables and statistics in the book cogently challenge nearly all the major assumptions that govern current discussion of public education, and shift the burden of proof squarely to the other side. Some random examples:

Dogma. America has been neglecting her schools. Compared with other recipients of the people's wealth [says the NEA], the schools "are rapidly losing ground, and have been doing so since about 1930."

The ISSR study (using 1956 figures) concludes:

—"Education is, in terms of cost [$14.2 billion], the largest public service in the United States next to national defense; it roughly equals the sum of the next two largest items of public expenditure.

—"The rise in the cost of education over the past four years equals more than half the increase in all public expenditures in the United States [including national defense] . . .

—"Between 1929-30 and 1955-56, personal consumption expenditures *doubled* [unless otherwise indicated, emphasis is in the original] and public school expenditures *tripled* . . . public school enrollment increased 21 per cent, the population of the United States, 37 per cent . . . To all appearances, the American people have taken better care of their schools than of their living standards."

Dogma. Worse still, America is doing less well by her youth than the Soviet Union. Russia (says the U.S. Commissioner of Education) "is spending three to four times as much on public education as the United States. . . ."

The ISSR concludes that in 1956 the U.S. spent $103.94 per capita on education, as compared with $34.17 by the USSR (A major reason for the discrepancy, the study points out, is that the Office of Education uses UNESCO figures which value the ruble at the official, but fictitious, rate of 25 cents.)

The Teacher Shortage

Dogma. The shortage of teachers is increasing. We are confronted with "the losing race," President Eisenhower told the 1955 White House Conference on Education, "between the number of classrooms and qualified teachers . . . and the increasing population of school age."

The ISSR takes the NEA's figures on the number of teachers employed in the public schools, and after deducting "emergency" and "substandard" teachers, concludes that between 1953-54 and 1957-58 the number of certificated teachers increased by 21.9 per cent, as against a 15.9 increase in the number of pupils.

Dogma. Not enough college students are entering the teaching field. "About one-fifth" of our college graduates choose the teaching profession (says the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education) although "to fill our needs entirely . . . one-half of all college graduates" should go into the field.

The ISSR finds that in 1956-57 the number of new certificated teachers in the public schools equaled *one-half* of all college graduates. The main trouble with the Fund's figures is that they reflect the number of college graduates who become teachers *in the year they graduate;* actually, a vast number of graduates go into teaching several years after they have had a fling at some other occupation.

Dogma. Largely because of low teachers' salaries, education is not an attractive profession in the eyes of college students. "In the rigorous bidding for an adequate share of this short supply [of college graduates]," says the Fund for the Advancement of Education, "education finds itself at an increasing competitive disadvantage."

The ISSR finds that despite the profession's alleged unattractiveness, college majors in education *increased* 33 per cent from 1949-50 to 1956-57, while majors in other fields *decreased* 28 per cent. In the same period, masters' degrees in education increased 54 per cent, as compared with a 19 per cent decrease in all other fields. "It appears that if school teaching merely maintains its relative competitive standing with other professional fields, it can, in a few years, obtain all or more than its needs from each year's college graduating class. . . . A continuation of [the] trend will produce a surplus of teachers, and a struggle among candidates for teaching positions."

Dogma. Teachers are currently leaving the profession by droves in search of higher paying jobs in other occupations. ". . . 10 per cent of all the country's teachers [says the American Federation of Teachers] decide every year that their jobs are not worth the price, and quit teaching to take other jobs."

The ISSR consulted the NEA's statistics on *why* teachers leave their jobs, and concluded that the vast majority get married, or retire because of old age or disability, or move to other states where (presumably) they get another teaching job. Only one per cent of all classroom teachers leave their jobs each year in order

(*Continued on p.* 71)

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Nuclear Irresistibility: The Great Fallacy

Our faith in nuclear weapons, says Admiral Settle, has cost us our military advantage. What deters Moscow is not our bombs but its cold war successes

T. G. W. SETTLE

Since Hiroshima and Nagasaki were atomized in 1945 the American public has been obsessed by the ever-growing power, versatility, and stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Most of our public and press have unquestioningly accepted the assertions that these weapons are practically irresistible and can, alone, deter or win a war with the Soviet Union.

Are these assertions actualities or illusions? How has our nuclear obsession affected the U. S. military establishment? What of the Sputniks? Let us examine these questions objectively.

Does our nuclear bombing capability, in actuality, deter the Soviets from attacking us? Would nuclear destruction of enemy cities, alone, win a major war? Have nuclear weapons revolutionized basic strategy? Are they capable of "destroying nations, civilization"?

I believe that events during the next decade or two will emphatically answer, No. Future historians may aptly call the above concept "The Great Fallacy."

From time to time throughout history new weapons have appeared, each more potent than preceding ones. Their initial use in combat has usually surprised an unprepared enemy, making the new weapon seem irresistible and resulting in a public clamor that warfare has become too bloody and costly. But in each case, defensive means and counter-weapons have soon restored substantial offensive-defensive balance; and the new weapon and its counter-means have been added to the already available munitions, possibly supplanting some older items.

Examples of this recurring process are the cross-bow, firearms, the submarine, the airplane, the tank, and most recently, nuclear weapons.

Sometimes a new weapon or a "new strategy" has turned out to be a "dud" when smothered by countermeasures or when found to have too little military effectiveness for the effort expended. Such were chemical and bacteriological warfare, which have not justified the hopes of their early proponents. And such was the doctrine of massive airplane bombing of an enemy's civilian population, advanced by air enthusiasts in the 1920's and 1930's. This was tried unsuccessfully by the Germans, and later by the Allies, in World War Two. Despite massive offensive bombing effort (with high losses), and great civilian destruction, this "strategy" was ineffective. Neither the British nor the Germans were defeated by it. Massive ground armies were needed to beat Germany.

Effect on Victory

Would nuclearizing enemy cities be more effective now? No evidence makes it seem likely. On the contrary, it seems probable that, alone, it would be less effective towards victory than was the TNT "area bombing" of World War Two, and at greater proportionate losses to the attackers. In World War Two the British and Germans had only meager defensive means. The United States now has considerable defensive capability, passive and active (despite our slowness in developing it); the Soviets, doubtless, have even better capability. In the coming years, inevitably, the remaining gap will rapidly close between nuclear offensive "strategic bombing" effectiveness (with airplane, missile and submarine delivery), and defensive means including dispersion, concealment, early warning barriers and anti-submarine, anti-aircraft, and anti-missile weaponry.

The following conclusions are inescapable:

While the U.S. and the USSR have the capability to inflict heavy casualties upon each other's civilian populations with nuclear weapons, that alone would not bring victory. Since this is no doubt fully appreciated by the Soviet leaders, our nuclear capability cannot by itself deter a Soviet attack upon us.

While major powers must retain a capability for attacking military targets deep within an enemy's territory, and while that capability can be diverted to attack on non-military targets, it is highly unlikely that a military commander would use his nuclear stocks so inefficiently. He would wisely conserve them for the far more profitable military targets. Of course, nuclearizing military and military-industrial targets will sometimes involve purely civilian casualties, but these should be considered as unavoidable "side-effects."

Nuclear bombing of civilians would inevitably carry along with it a psychological "boomerang" effect. The enemy populace would be "made mad" and consolidate behind their leaders, increasing their war effort.

There is no sound basis for believing that nuclear weaponry has, or will, "revolutionize basic strategical concepts," or that it may destroy "whole nations, or civilization itself." To draw such conclusions from the destruction of unprepared and undefended Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and from the subsequent controlled testing of more powerful weapons, is wholly illogical and fallacious. It is like the children's fable in which a chicken, hit by an acorn, broadcasts that "the sky is falling."

For use against, and defense of, military forces, military-industrial plants, and military stockpiles and communications, nuclear weaponry of the whole spectrum of yields and delivery systems constitutes valuable augmentation of the effective "tools" available to military commanders.

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Nuclear weapons have, as have other new weapons in the past, modified some detailed *tactical* aspects of warfare. For example, formations of ground troops, naval and air forces, must now be more "open," with greater distances between adjacent units; reconnaissance units, early warning lines, and pickets must be at greater distances ahead, to the flanks, and astern; "three-dimensional" warfare is extending its vertical dimension in altitude and depth; and the horizontal dimensions of the "battlefield" are expanded. But nuclear and missile weaponry and rocketry *have not* outmoded or supplanted ground armies, naval forces or manned aircraft, or non-nuclear weaponry. Ground armies, with their core of infantrymen and supporting sea and air forces, with nuclear and non-nuclear, long and short range weapons and delivery systems, are still the basic arbiters of victory in major wars.

If our civilian nuclearizing capability has not deterred Soviet attack upon us, what has? What is now deterring the Soviets with their current parity or superiority in nuclearizing capability?

The obvious answer is that the Soviet Union has been, and is, making good progress in the Cold War toward its objective of world supremacy, and at as fast a pace, doubtless, as its gains can be digested. A "hot war" with the U. S. could not possibly be in its best interests. There have been two strongly favorable factors for the Soviet Union in waging the Cold War, *i. e.*, our Great Fallacy with respect to nuclear weapons, and our associated Great Fear of war with the Soviet Union, both of which Moscow has assiduously nourished in our public and press. The same basic considerations still govern; Soviet nuclear parity or superiority will probably augment the pace and scope of Soviet Cold War winnings.

How has the Great Fallacy affected our military establishment?

Our illusion that our capability to nuclearize enemy cities could, by itself, deter or quickly win a war with the Soviets has led us to put most of our military offensive eggs in one basket of long range aircraft-delivered nuclear bombs (from shore bases and carriers at sea). We have curtailed our other naval forces, armies, and tactical air forces for close support of ground troops, thereby seriously unbalancing our national offensive combat team. Compounding this, we have been inordinately slow in developing offensive and defensive missiles, missile submarines, and nuclear-powered surface ships and aircraft.

We now find that the Soviets have military parity—superiority in some categories—with probably greater momentum of advancement in some weapons systems. And the Soviets apparently have a well balanced military establishment of offensive and defensive ground, sea, and air forces, with long and short range nuclear and non-nuclear weaponry in reasonable proportions to best support their ultimate national objective of world supremacy. Confronting this combat team, our military establishment is alarmingly out of balance. A rough analogy in football terms would be a team near-perfect in the forward pass but deficient in other elements of the game, facing a heavier, well-balanced team proficient in all elements, including forward passing.

How do the Sputniks affect the situation?

The Soviet satellites, and our own, can have no immediate direct military significance. They may well, in the future, have value for reconnaissance and weapons delivery systems. But the Sputnilks do have an important immediate *politico-military* significance in dramatically demonstrating the Soviets' scientific engineering, and industrial capabilities and their superior momentum in augmenting those capabilities.

(Reprints of this article are available at 15 cents each, 100 for $10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York, 16, N.Y.)*

Kreuttner

"In order to present all sides of the complex problem of Foreign Aid, we have with us Dr. Ajax Flutterly who thinks we should give away 355 billion, and on the opposite side of the question we have Professor Marvin Snag who thinks we should give away only 354 billion, eight hundred million."

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from HERE *to* THERE

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Controversy on Profit Sharing

The reflections on profit sharing that were printed in this space [May 31] seem to have touched upon a vital nerve. In presenting Mr. E. S. Hall's ideas about linking profit sharing to the "life" invested in a business as measured by the annual payroll, I was neither praising nor condemning profit sharing as such. I was merely speculating on the possible ways of sharing profits without stealing legitimately earned rewards from the shareholders of a business.

William Loeb, publisher of that excellent newspaper, the Manchester, N.H. *Union Leader*, objects to Mr. Hall's effort to find a universally valid basis for equating the investment of "life" and the investment of money in an enterprise. To Mr. Loeb any method of profit sharing is justified competitively if it enables the owners to make more money. "Profits," says Mr. Loeb, "should be shared because the results produced by sharing profits seem to us desirable. . . . Those of us who have practiced profit sharing have discovered a vast increase in productivity and also in the quality of the work and, by and large, most profit sharing companies where profit sharing plans have been soundly introduced and intelligently administered have prospered. . . . For instance, I am thinking of the second Chairman of the Council of Profit Sharing Industries, the late Hiram C. Nicholas. . . ."

Mr. Nicholas was the manager of a busted foundry in Orville, Ohio. He took the company over from the owners with a speech to the employees: ". . . if everybody will pitch in and really give me some production here so that I can lower the costs of my castings and, consequently, sales price, we may be able to bring in enough business to make this thing really hum, and if it does I will divide with you evenly the profits after we take out 10 per cent for reserve for the development of the company."

Mr. Loeb makes the entirely pragmatic point that Mr. Nicholas' company used profit sharing incentives to attain an efficiency that enabled it to sell castings at 15 per cent below their nearest competitor. Furthermore, while paying a profit sharing bonus of some 55 cents an hour, the company declared a 100 per cent dividend.

If Mr. Nicholas' company had worried unduly about such things as the standard definition of profits (as the reward for successful risk-taking), or if it had sought first to find a universal formula for equating the investment of "life" with the investment of capital, it might never have succeeded in stirring the boys in the shop to putting out effort for their own benefit—and, incidentally, for the benefit of the owners.

It Works in Manchester

Mr. Loeb runs his own newspaper enterprises on a profit sharing basis. He has six unions in his plant—the ITU, the Guild, the Mailers, the Engravers, the Stereotypers and the Pressmen. Over the years he has distributed almost a million dollars to his workers on top of their union wage scale. Profit sharing has paid off for Mr. Loeb, a good conservative. His workers have uttered no complaints when he has started other related enterprises with money taken *before* dividends or profit sharing from the *Union Leader* till. The employees figure that, in the long run, they will make more by stringing along with Mr. Loeb's management.

Mr. Sartell Prentice Jr., whose business is counseling on profit sharing, also objects to Mr. Hall's insistence on finding a universal formula for equating the investment of "life" with the investment of money. "Rather than quibble over a definition of 'profits,'" he says, "perhaps we should ask, 'How are profits earned?' Certainly, by themselves, the 'tools of production' can produce no profits; no matter how efficient the 'tools' may be, no company can earn any profits while its employees are out on strike. . . . The case for profit sharing rests solely on its ability to provide greater efficiency in the use of the tools of production, thereby reducing costs and increasing profits . . . far from representing any 'generosity' or 'good-heartedness' on the part of stockholders, true profit sharing represents an investment that should prove to be fully as profitable as any comparable investment in tools of production."

Mr. Prentice quotes Mr. Franklin J. Lunding, Board Chairman of Jewel Tea Co.: "We at Jewel Tea do not share our money profits because we can afford to do so; we share our money profits because doing so enables us to afford it."

To Mr. Prentice's mind, the trouble with Mr. Hall's formula for paying dividends to workers on their investment of "life" as measured by their annual wages is that wages tend to stay relatively stable whereas the market value of stock may fluctuate widely. The "dividend" income provided to workers through the use of Mr. Hall's formula would, so Mr. Prentice says, be too small in many cases to stimulate anybody to much extra effort. Moreover, no two companies are alike: some have relatively huge capital costs, some pay out big sums for electric power, and some require an extra big labor force. How could any single formula for equating investment of "life" and money cover all cases?

The point Mr. Prentice is making is that management must be flexible in its approach to profit sharing if it is to use it as a tool for increasing over-all profits for everybody. Any method that will knock something out of labor costs and leave more for the investor after the "take" of the business has been shared is justified.

My column on Mr. Hall's plan drew fire—which proves the vitality of the subject. But neither Mr. Loeb nor Mr. Prentice disposes of the semantic problem. The "profit sharing" they talk about is, after all, a system of giving sliding-scale bonuses for efficiency. It is a "contingent wage system"—and entirely compatible with the standard definition that profits are the reward for risk. We do not have to rewrite the textbooks after all.

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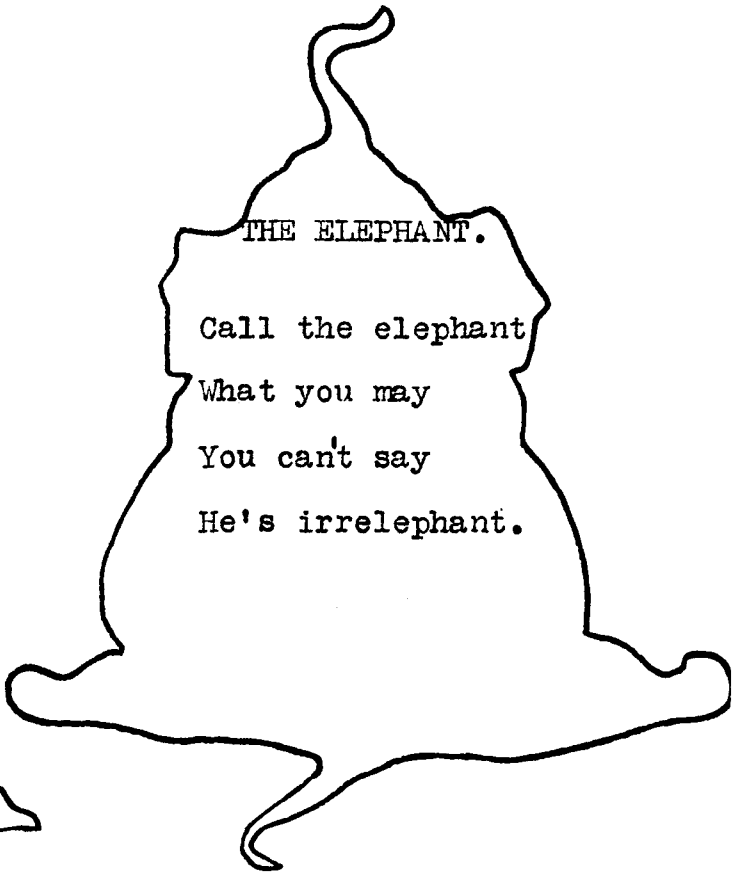
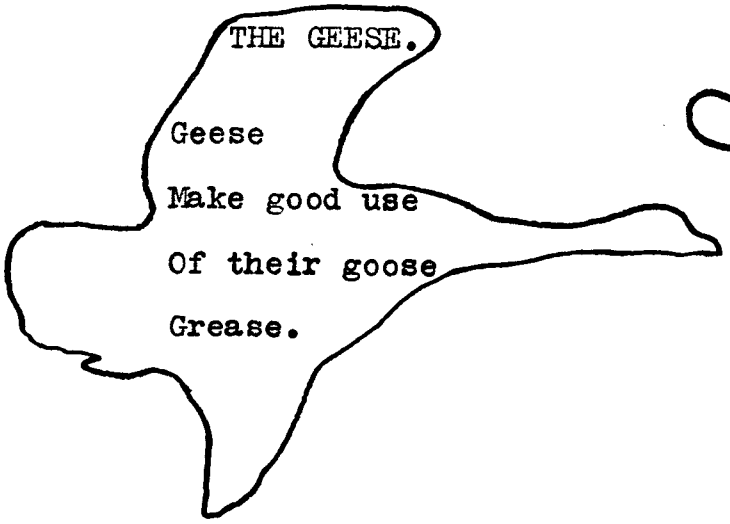
Animals on the Loose

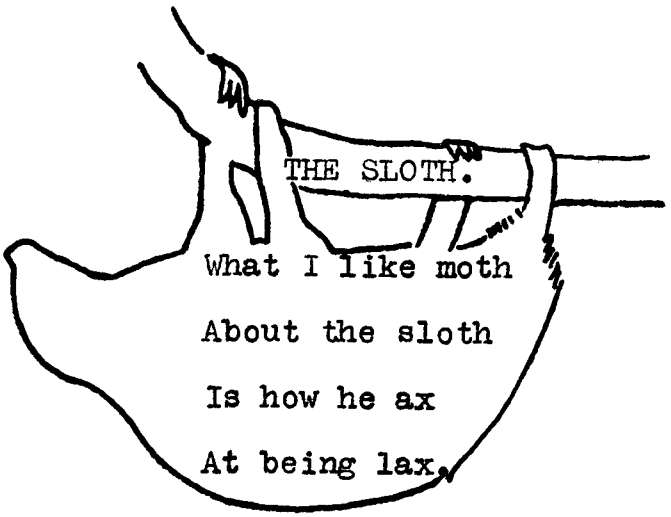
Drawings and Verses by
JOHANNES EFF

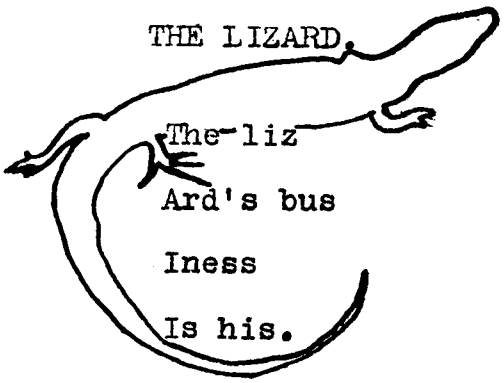
These verses are animal verses because where else but in the animal kingdom can one find words like rhinoceros and elephant which rhyme so nicely with . . . with . . . ? I searched all over for such words as these for years, and then discovered that zoologists had already appropriated the most interesting ones. What right have they to words like platypus and zebra? Fortunately not all men have stood for this monopoly and many *will* use zoological terms to suit themselves. "Get off my foot, you elephant," or "look at that old goat trying to make a hit," are expressions showing forth this wonderfully independent spirit. Lest there be any uncertainty over the meaning of terms in these pages, however, let me say here that when, for example, I say "gnu" or "hummingbird" I mean it zoologically. This may be good gnus for some of you.

J. E.









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THE GORILLA.

The gorilla
Is a killa.

Many beasts will let you be
When you're safely up a tree;
Many more will turn around
If you're too big on the ground.

But willa
Gorilla ?

THE BARRACUDA

When drawing up a list
Of things you're glad you missed,
Includa
Barracuda.

THE STORK.

If the stork
Could tork
As a liar
I'd inquire
If he tells his youth
The unvarnished truth.

THE BAT.

The bat doesn't mind
Being blind.
It helps to be brave
In a cave.

THE PANTHER.

Should a panther
Ring your bell
It is well
Not to anther.

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Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

The Great Divide of Opinion

I went to Oxford last week-end, partly to get away from politics and political wrangling. I failed. The chief subject of conversation was the fate of two undergraduates who are being prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act for writing an anti-H bomb article which purports to disclose the provocative methods used by British Naval Intelligence, in which they served as conscripts. The leading undergraduate magazine, the *Isis*, was full of articles attacking the Government, calling for the end of American bomber flights over Britain, and pouring scorn on all those, whether inside or outside the University, who supported the Anglo-French assault on Suez.

A lot of this you might dismiss as being merely the usual undergraduate nonsense: but there was something else, less brash and more alarming because its roots go deeper. After dinner in All Souls, where of all places in England one might expect to hear affairs discussed at the highest intellectual level, the conversation ranged over the Middle East and Cyprus, NATO and Mr. Sandys' defense policy and the cold war in general. Almost at once the familiar great divide of opinion appeared. It was all eminently well-reasoned and moderate, but the arguments and attitudes were essentially the same ones you will find being debated all over Europe today.

It was perhaps the most fluent member of our company who advanced the most typical theory. He maintained that Britain should gradually withdraw her troops from the remnants of a useless and costly Empire, acquire new moral authority by abrogating the use of nuclear weapons and assume the leadership of Europe, which should be a Third Force between the materialistic Americans and the ambitious Russians. "Don't misunderstand me," he said. "I don't like Communism but there are lots of things I dislike about America too."

That's the heart of the matter, the blind spot which justifies all neutralist opinion except that based merely on cowardice. He recognized no real moral difference between the Communist bloc and what he would doubtless call the American bloc. He saw them simply as huge rival powers struggling for supremacy. Everything else follows from that. The smaller powers must try to prevent themselves from being drawn into the struggle and thus exhausted or destroyed, and they would be well advised to form a countervailing bloc of their own, which would give them an independence and an influence far greater than they could achieve in isolation or as minor allies of Russia or the United States.

Outside the common rooms of Oxford this theory can be found in less sophisticated forms. It's by no means unusual to hear people say they'd as soon be occupied by the Russians as by the Americans. On the Continent I've heard the case put more strongly: that occupation by the Nazis was fairly civilized and occupation by the Russians would be tolerable compared with the ubiquitous presence of these rich, vulgar Americans.

The growth of neutralist and anti-American opinion, and its quick recrudescence after setbacks like Hungary, is something which has perhaps still not been sufficiently understood in the United States: but it is one of the cardinal facts of the present situation and constitutes a greater menace to the Western Alliance than any overt move which the Communists are likely to make.

Mr. Macmillan's recent visit to Washington and Ottawa was an example at the highest level of what should happen a great deal more often at every level: Nations can hardly work together without sometimes finding genuine differences of opinion and genuine clashes of interest; but far too many of these differences are really failures of communication and, when there is one overriding common interest, it should be possible to dispose of minor conflicts.

The two topics which presumably figured most largely in Mr. Macmillan's talks at the White House were the situation in France and ways of countering the Soviets' new economic offensive: in both cases the lesson holds. If General de Gaulle succeeds in unifying France he will become the formidable spokesman for all those Frenchmen who feel that from Indo-China to North Africa, from Dien Bien Phu to Sakiet, they have been betrayed, bullied and patronized by their allies. This feeling is not without justification. Could there, for example, have been a clumsier piece of provocation between allies than the loudly heralded delivery of arms to Tunisia?

The "economic interdependence" which Mr. Macmillan stresses is also a very real thing. If sterling collapsed, it would be the Kremlin, not Wall Street, which would gain. For their own sakes, no less than for the sake of the alliance as a whole, the nations of the West must operate their economies with a sympathetic eye to each other. What is more, the capitalist system must not only work well, it must be seen to work well. Slumps, inflation, high taxes, currency restrictions and commodity shortages are the surest way of driving the "uncommitted" nations toward the proffered Soviet cornucopia.

Meanwhile Britain's economy is still being assaulted by strikes and tempted towards further inflation. It would be misleading to say that the strikes were Communist-inspired, but they are certainly Communist-exploited. Communists are almost always prominent on the strike committees and Communist penetration of the unions at shop steward level has been very considerable. No one knows this better than the more responsible trade unionists and leaders of the Labor Party, but that doesn't prevent them from openly backing the strikers and bitterly condemning both the Government and the employers.

On every issue, whether domestic or international, the great divide of opinion appears; and the old truth echoes grimly, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

To Be or Not to Be Time-in-Schooled?

You are going to be hearing a lot about it in the months and years ahead, so let's get the facts straight: "Conservatism and Personality" is an 18-page article that appears in the current issue of the *American Political Science Review*. Its author is an industrious and—so he assures us, anyhow—"disinterested" young scholar named Herbert McClosky, who teaches political science at the University of Minnesota. The "findings" it presents are the result of a "research" "project," conducted over a period of years by a "team," no less, of investigators trained in the very latest "methods" of the so-called "behavioral sciences." Its "findings," like those of Adorno *et al's The Authoritarian Personality* over the past years, will, over the next years, admirably serve the purposes of any Liberal who either a) wants to take his Conservative friends and acquaintances down a notch or two, or b) wants to reinforce his smugness about his own supposed moral and intellectual superiority. And, finally, it is tiresome beyond belief, which is why instead of urging you to go read it for yourself I am going to urge you not to—and tell you, in the following paragraphs, all that you will ever need to know about it.

The Disinterested "Findings"

Let us, first of all, get McClosky's major "findings" in mind. As set forth in the passages least affected by the jargon of the "behavioral" political scientists they come to something like this:

—"Conservatism is not the preferred doctrine . . . of the more intelligent segments of the population, but the reverse."

—The "level of information and intellectual grasp" is distinctly *lower* among Conservatives than among Liberals.

—Conservatives "tend on the whole to come from the more backward and frightened elements of the population."

—The more Conservative one is, the more likely to be "hostile and suspicious . . . rigid and compulsive . . . [quick] to condemn others for their imperfections and weaknesses . . . intolerant . . . easily moved to scorn and disappointment in others . . . inflexible and unyielding in . . . perceptions and judgments."

—The Conservative is "distrustful of differences, and of whatever he cannot understand," he "fears change, dreads disorder, and is intolerant of nonconformity," and he tends to "derogate reason and intellectuality and . . . eschew theory."

—Conservatives tend to be "attracted to sentiments that would have to be described as mystical, and even obscurantist," and set "far less store upon rigor or precision of thought" ("The Conservative tends . . . to perceive intellectuals as bohemians, as deviants and non-conformists who flaunt [*sic*] the requirements of convention and who lack respect for property or religion"—one of those unrigorous and imprecise Conservatives would, one likes to think, have written "flout").

—Conservatives are characterized by an "unusual [!] concern for law, authority, and stability," cannot "bear the uncertainty of questions left open," and yearn for "unequivocal definitions of the norms, and conclusive specification of the sources of authority."

—Conservatives, though they "make a fetish of community," are "in many ways more alienated from the community than most."

McClosky is, let us remember, disinterested: it is no part of his purpose to discredit or disparage Conservatives; and if he makes such statements it is only because, as a scientist, he can draw no other conclusion from the data he and his team have assembled.

The Means of "Research"

The "behavioral" political scientists differ from such political scientists as, for example, Aristotle, Hobbes, and de Tocqueville, in that they turn their backs upon political behavior, and fix attention exclusively on what people *say* about political behavior. Their "research," in consequence, is typically conducted by means of interviews and questionnaires; these yield up "responses" from such and such "respondents," which the researchers subsequently analyze and tabulate in such fashion as to divide the respondents into such and such statistical groupings, subsequent analysis of which enables such and such "findings" or "conclusions." These, for obvious reasons, are interesting and significant just to the extent that, *inter alia,* a) the interviews or questionnaires have been intelligently devised, b) there is reason to believe in the veracity and competence of the respondents, c) the researchers may be presumed to know how to count, and d) the conclusions have any demonstrable bearing upon any problem that is itself interesting and significant.

McClosky, in order to arrive at the kind of results he was seeking, needed questionnaires capable of dividing his respondents 1) according to "degree of Conservatism," 2) according to education, occupation, socio-economic status, etc., 3) according to "Intellectuality" and "Awareness," 4) according to "traits that reflect the interrelation of personality and lifestyle" and 5) according to certain so-called "clinical" personality traits (hostility, paranoid tendencies, obsessive traits, intolerance of human frailty, etc.).

Now: if McClosky ever entertained any doubts about the possibility of administering tests that will accurately grade people on, *e.g.,* "Awareness," or "Hostility," or "Faith in People" or "Religiosity" or "Political Suspiciousness," he must have done so at a period prior to that of the study here in question. For the latter—I think I do not exaggerate—treats these things as just as easy to "measure" as, for example, weight and height; and, clearly, the findings listed above are, in general, no more valid than his assumption that they may be so treated. Unless you be-

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lieve in McClosky's tests, therefore, there's not much reason to get your feelings hurt by what he ends up saying about Conservatives. And one imagines that there aren't many people about, learned or unlearned, Conservative or Liberal, who would put faith in such tests.

There is, however, no point in attacking—or wasting time on—*that* area of McClosky's research. His findings, as it happens, rest even more directly upon his claim that he can put questionnaires to people and divide them into "quartiles," that is, groupings of 25 per cent each, which may accurately be described as, respectively, Extreme Conservatives, Moderate Conservatives, Moderate Liberals, and—no, not Extreme Liberals (presumably because there is no such thing), but just plain Liberals. And, let us note, the "correlation" between McClosky's Liberals and those who rate high on his Education scale (that is, spent more years in school)—is, seen in proper focus, a matter of great interest.

McClosky's procedure for identifying his quartiles is this: he submits to his respondents a list of what he calls "items," asking them, with respect to each one, Do you agree or disagree? These represent, so to speak, a Conservative "credo," reduced to such terms that it can be "administered" to run-of-the-mine respondents; and McClosky not merely assumes but asserts that the more of the items you say Yes to, the higher your "degree" of Conservatism.

Here, in brief but I believe not unfair summary, is what the items assert: 1) Things that are old are likely to embody wisdom. 2) Changing things usually makes them worse. 3) The world is divided into superior and inferior people, and we may recognize this without being undemocratic. 4) We can maintain harmony in America without remaking our institutions. 5) A property-owner is more likely to be dependable than a non-property-owner. 6) Society is very complicated; try and reform part of it and you will probably upset it. 7) Practical men are to be preferred to men of ideas. 8). A man gets wiser as he gets older. 9) Before trying something new you should find out whether it will work. 10) Political authority comes from a higher power, not from us. 11) Private property is necessary to a strong nation. 12) Sudden governmental and economic changes are never wise. 13) It's better to stick with what you have than try new things you don't really know about. 14) Duties are more important than rights. 15) The world is complicated, so that only experts can understand it. 16) You can't change human nature. 17) Coddling and babying makes people soft and weak. 18) The heart is as good a guide as the head. 19) Some people are better than others. 20) A few people will always run things. 21) Few people know what is in their best interest. 22) It is never right to break a law. 23) A man who doesn't know what he's talking about doesn't deserve a hearing.

Silly! you say—because with rare exceptions these are *not* accurate or impartial statements of Conservative belief? I agree—but I am going to surprise you by saying that I for one welcome McClosky's Conservatives, with or without Low Awareness and with or without much Time-in-School, as Conservatives; that I for one imagine his questionnaire does in fact separate the Conservative wheat from the Liberal chaff; and I think I understand *why* it does.

Some Missing Items

McClosky apologizes, at the end of his article, for his inadequate definition of Liberalism. "We have," he writes, "tended to call someone Liberal if he rejected the values of Conservatism"—meaning, of course, by "values of Conservatism" the items listed above. As a matter of his statistics, I dare say that is correct. But I am going to venture a counter-thesis, namely: That McClosky's "conservative values," his items, are Conservative merely in the sense that they involve the rejection of *Liberal* "values," that is, the *Liberal* "items" that might have been submitted in their stead. That Liberal respondents say No to them because they recognize them as involving just that. And that Conservative respondents say Yes to them, in McClosky's tests, not because they find in them an expression of their beliefs, but because they shrink from the Liberal items to which, as they feel, they might be committing themselves if they said No to them. And that the real meaning of McClosky's "data" emerges only when we bring together, as I am about to do, the missing Liberal items, and remind ourselves that they are *what the more articulate and more-time-in-schooled members of our community today believe.*

Here, with numbers corresponding to those of the relevant Conservative items, are the Liberal "values" of which those items are the denial:

1) Things that are old are likely to embody much foolishness. 2) Changing things always improves them. 3) What is democratic is to recognize that there are no superior people. 4) We must remake our institutions if we are to maintain harmony in America. 5) A non-property-owner is more likely to be dependable than a property-owner. 6) Society is simple, and anyone who doesn't think so isn't an expert. 7) Liberal ideologues are to be preferred to businessmen. 8) A man gets less wise as he grows older. 9) You should try new things without stopping to find out whether they will work. 10) Those who exercise political authority are not accountable to any higher power. 11) Private property is unnecessary to a strong nation, and anyway why have a strong nation? 12) Governmental and economic changes are always wise, and the more sudden the better. 13) It is better to try new things you don't know about than to stick with what you have. 14) Rights are more important than duties, which aren't important at all. 15) The world is simple, and anyone who thinks it is complicated just isn't an expert. 16) You can change human nature, and we're a-going to. 17) Coddling and babying strengthens character. 18) The heart is the seat of traditional prejudice, and is the worst of guides. 19) Everybody's as good as everybody else. 20) The Many will one day run things, with *us* telling them what to do. 21) Everybody knows what is in his best interest, especially if he is disfranchised. 22) Laws are made to be broken (or reinterpreted by the Supreme Court). 23) No man who knows what he is talking about deserves a hearing.

By what magic do I tease the second creed out of the first? I'm not telling; but you start out by being disinterested—on the Conservative side.

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Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

Ferment Among Historians

The eyes of the world are upon the tremendous ferment in the technology of the physical sciences; but less dramatic, yet in the end perhaps more fateful for our future, is the ferment in the philosophy of history. The way in which we see ourselves and our historical role will in the end shape our will. It will affect our being a great deal more deeply than the material instrumentalities with which we implement our will.

Western civilization, to a far greater degree than any other civilization of which we know, has been deeply concerned with the problem of history, with the passage of men through time, where "every moment is a new beginning" and freely willed thought and action are fraught with immense responsibility and portentous outcome. To none of the other great civilizations has this sense of man's responsibility in his course through history been so present a condition of consciousness.

Though we see this consciousness today primarily in the distorted form of the scientistic and progressivist arrogance of the post-Christian *Weltanschauung*, it is a consciousness that came into being, and could only have come into being, on the basis of the sublime paradox of faith that created the West: the penetration of the Transcendent *into* history, vindicating the freedom of men *in* history. This folly to the determinist, this scandal to the relativist, has made it possible for Western man to grasp, as men of no other civilization have, the possibility of ultimate spiritual freedom. Neither the monism of materialism nor the monism of philosophical idealism can withstand the critical impact of the deep certainty of the West that man's existence is not wholly reducible to the *resultat* of material forces or the fixed and predetermined dictates of fate.

The relativism that has characterized the dominant thought of the West for the past century or more can in this context be seen as a desperate and distorted attempt to deny the threatening determinism of material forces that seemed unchallenged in a world from which the transcendent had been exiled. But the relativist denial of essential reality, which reduces the roll of the ocean, the aroma of the orchard in spring, the clarity of mathematical achievement, the fullness of faith, the ephemeral symbols of ephemeral relations—this the Western spirit could not stomach. It affronted the Western sense of history.

The reaction flung wildly to the other extreme. The lyric determinism of a Spengler, the hesitant determinism of a Toynbee, the subtle Hegelian monism of a Collingwood, destroyed the feeble pretensions of relativist history. But it was a leap from the frying pan into the fire. The free will of the individual person is lost as hopelessly in their great systems as in the futility of relativist history.

A New Spirit

In the past dozen years—the result perhaps of the latest stage in the immense and wracking crisis in which Western society has been gripped—a new spirit has been precipitated out. The towering genius of Eric Voegelin, the insight of Percy of Newcastle, the critical acumen of Herbert Butterfield are but the highest points in a developing movement of thought which rejects the two extremes of historical determinism and historical relativism, returning to the fundamental Western understanding of human history as the free acting of men, moving towards a transcendent destiny, in the conditions of a material world.

It is not only, however, in the work of these men and of many others who are explicitly proceeding along the same path (one could mention such works as Leopold Kohr's *The Breakdown of Nations* [Rinehart, $6.00] or Marie Swabey's *The Judgment of History* [Philosophical Library, $3.75]), that the sign of a great turn in the philosophy of history can be discerned. Great changes in modes of thought also carry along men who are striving deeply for an understanding of reality even when they are not prepared as yet to recognize that their ultimate terms of philosophical reference depend upon unsound premises. Two examples, drawn from widely different ideological worlds, may suffice to illustrate this tendency.

Professor von Mises, although he is without doubt the world's greatest living economist, has always shown a utilitarian bias on philosophical and historical questions, which carried to its logical conclusions could only lead to relativism. The power of his grasp of reality, however, which has enabled him to avoid relativist futility in his analysis of the laws of the economy, seems now to have affected his outlook on history. In *Theory and History* (Yale, $6.00) the utilitarian bias is still strongly apparent in his formulations, but the judgments that he makes on critical problems of history break beyond the bounds of those formulations and show an astonishing affinity to the line of historical thought I have been discussing.

Much farther from this stream of thought than Professor von Mises is Karl Popper. His *The Open Society and Its Enemies* has been for some years quoted—at least in its title—as a manifesto for Liberalism. But whatever may be made out of that book (and much of it, be it said, cuts harder against the contemporary collectivists than against their critics), there is little in his newly published *The Poverty of Historicism* (Beacon, $4.00) to please the Liberal mind. However different his ultimate philosophical attitudes are from those of Eric Voegelin or Herbert Butterfield, his historical criticism is a powerful intellectual weapon again determinism, whatever its origin.

A strong tide is moving, and it is not only sweeping the main channels, but working its way into all sorts of unexpected places. More than in any other area of intellectual endeavor, the trend of thought in the philosophy of history is a promising one.

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The Way of the Humanist

FORREST DAVIS

A morphology of Christianity and Communism has teased many minds, primarily those of latter-day "humanists," striving to reconcile the irreconcilable in the name of welfare. Certain "modernist" theologians, subordinating their transcendental heritage to the "social gospel," find, or affect to find, in Marxism a Christian heresy. Other theologians, Protestant and Catholic alike, more intent on the essence, have made phenomenological comparisons with a view to vindicating Christianity's superior claims to the allegiance of twentieth-century man. Such a one is the Rev. Martin Cyril D'Arcy, S. J., onetime lecturer on philosophy and master of Campion Hall, the Roman Catholic college at Oxford.

Father D'Arcy, in *Communism and Christianity* (Devin-Adair, $4.00), concedes the familiar likenesses between the opposites of his title. "Both sides," as he says, "racing against each other, proclaim a universal faith, a philosophy of life . . ." Both offer a complete statement of the human condition. Both Marxism and Christianity proselyte, both cite canonical scriptures, both avow a Messianic concern for the last days, "a vision of the end." Both include the idea of sacrifice: on the one hand the ordeal of the Cross, on the other Marxism's sacrifice of whole generations to the paradisaical Utopia of a "classless society."

Actually, it is the similarity between the City of God and the unscientific and unspecified beatitude of the "classless society" that most clearly lines up Christianity and Marxism in Father D'Arcy's sights. The eminent English Jesuit, being a skilful and immensely learned polemicist, makes short work, as might be expected, of eschatology according to Marx. He poses for Communism a Nirvana wherein, "Soviet man" having, in the Tartar imagination of Nikita S. Khrushchev, "buried" the infidel, the state shall wither away and a regenerate mankind, relieved of Marxism's cant bogey, exploitation, enter upon a sterile, "subhuman" Apocalypse indistinguishable from George Orwell's *1984*. Meanwhile, generation after generation must involuntarily tread the bitter grapes of deprivation, will-less subserviency and war, toward an ever-receding hope.

The Christian hope, as Father D'Arcy expounds it, is at once more realizable, humane and rewarding, promising to each believer as he puts off mortality union with the Father of us all. While the kingdom of Karl Marx is ever more remote, the Kingdom of God is at hand.

Whatever other-worldly gratifications attach to these reflections, Father D'Arcy's work has a mundane relevance to the central issue of this century: the revolt of Communism and its spawns, Nazism, Fascism etc., against the West. For it is by no means accidental that the power systems begotten by Marx reject institutional Christianity and the social values of the West with equal fury. *Communism and Christianity* is superlatively useful because it reminds us of the source of what we defend and identifies for us, however allusively and inferentially, our most insidious enemy.

To that enemy Father D'Arcy puts the name of humanism; not, naturally enough, the beneficial stress on the humanities arising during the Renaissance under that name, but the contemporary relativistic nihilism less precisely termed Liberalism. For Father D'Arcy humanism stands for the dogmatic scientism and the shallow, deracinated political Liberalism that constitutes a third force weakening the traditional West in its struggle for survival against the new barbarians.

It may be Father D'Arcy's most significant contribution that he fixes a pertinent name to this third force and at the same time discloses its ephemeral, undestined aim. For, whereas Marxism and Christianity affirm a goal, humanism is merely a method existing in time but not in history. The Marxist counts upon a rigidly predestined faith and a mechanized nature to put the world to rights; Christianity relies upon a divine order; but humanism rests its hopes for the day after tomorrow upon nothing more substantial than a pragmatic rationalism independent of authority—and a vaporous Rousseauism. The humanist, discarding Original Sin in favor of a do-it-yourself perfectibility, lacks a sense of man's destiny beyond a nominal brotherhood bereft of the complementary Fatherhood of the Christians, a mindless tolerance uninformed by grace, the dubious fruits of reform, and a suburban euphoria world without end.

Humanism, professing a Christian ethic, including an undiscriminating pacifism, believes with Marxism that man and society can be redeemed by external means. Treading a middle way, humanism yet manages to throw its weight against the great society of the West, offering only a token resistance to Moscow. Infiltrating the universities, the pulpits, the communicating arts, it offers a fairer face than Communism, the open foe, which can be engaged and vanquished in the lists of history and experience. Humanism is more elusive.

Urbane and persuasive as are Father D'Arcy's apologetics, he stakes, in my opinion, far too modest a claim to the essentially Christian nature of the West which is at bay.

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He speaks, it is true, of the "influence of Christian principles and ideals in the formation of Western society." He omits, I believe justifiably, the customary ritualistic reference to the Mosaic background of Christianity. He, however, narrows the motivating factor that gave the West its Christian essence to the workings of the "Christian conscience."

A strong case can, and has been, made that the unique quality of Western society, its dynamics, its style, its art, its evolving politics, its physics and its Faustian search for the ultimate answers derive inevitably from the Christian view of man and nature, man and God. I would suggest that the doctrine of free will helped shape Western man's incomparable and far-ranging achievements, that the Vicarious Atonement afforded the West its mystique and, together with the parable of the Good Samaritan and the Sermon On the Mount, infused our society with the ethos of care, or charity, and individual worth which still rules the sentiment of the West.

The gulf between East and West runs far deeper than differences between political and economic forms. The fundamental divergence Father D'Arcy puts in these words: "The Marxist and Christian philosophies meet headlong on their different conceptions of man." Marxism diminishes man in exalting nature. The West treasures man even where it has forgotten in Whose image he was created.

Communism and Christianity, republished here after a 1956 Penguin printing, is essential reading if one wishes to put a perspective to the steady din over coexistence, summit meetings and nuclear testing. It is vital to what I believe is now called "understanding in depth" of why Western man, where unbemused by scientism and ungulled by humanism, recoils from the inmost nature of Communism. And perhaps above all, it helps explain the way of the humanist, who, the master of every mystery, scorning to make value judgments between us and the enemy, lightheartedly helps dig the grave of the West.

Autobiography of a Chinese Family

HOLGER CAHILL

The Dream of the Red Chamber is a novel which has won worldwide reputation almost without readers—except the Chinese, of course. No complete translation in any European language has appeared until this year. Now, in a single season, we have two translations that cover about five-sixths of it and give us its whole story. One is by Dr. Franz Kuhn, originally in German, later translated from German to French, and now published in the English of Florence and Isabel McHugh (Pantheon, $7.50). Another, directly from the Chinese, titled *Dream of the Red Chamber,* done by Chi-chen Wang, who teaches at Columbia University, was issued on the same day by Twayne ($6.00).

Both translations cover much the same ground, though the selection of incidents differs. Mr. Wang's is closer to the original, which is written in the speech of the people. The colloquial quality of Mr. Wang's book appears in his use of American slang, and especially in his free translations of poetry. This is not to denigrate Dr. Kuhn's translation but to call attention to the origins of the novel in China.

The Chinese novel is the creation of minstrels and storytellers, the spontaneous expression of the genius of a people, colloquial, loaded with folklore and mysticism. Among the versions of these novels we have in English are the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms,* a well-nigh inexhaustible source book for the Chinese theater, the *Shi Hu Chuan* translated as *All Men Are Brothers,* and *Monkey,* an epic folk tale. These colloquial tales were called *hsiao-shuo,* minor histories, and were not recognized by the *literati* until quite recently. But just as Americans have read dime novels and whodunits, both scholars and schoolboys have always read *hsiao-shuo* on the sly.

The author of *Dream of the Red Chamber,* Tsao Hsueh-chin, came from a family which had been elevated to high rank by K'ang Hsi because greatgrandmother Tsao had been the emperor's nurse, and her son the emperor's childhood playmate. The family held high government posts and one of them had been made a prince. Tsao was a scholar who failed in his final examination. His is the first autobiographical novel in Chinese traditional literature, the first to picture the complex life of a great family seen at first hand, the first to show that love may be a suffering that ends in tragedy. It has unity of plot, and its observation of people and events is realistic when the author does not fly off into Buddhist and Taoist dreams.

The novel concerns the fortunes of the Chia family, which follow closely that of Tsao Hsuen-chin's own family. Chia is a surname. It also means family in Chinese. When Tsao speaks of the Chia he is thinking of his own people.

The story weaves around the daily life in the park of the Yungkuofu, ("Glory to the Country Mansion"), especially the *Hung Lou* or red chambers, where the young ladies live. *Hung Lou* is also a Buddhist reference to worldly luxury, the red dust of the mortal world. There are many delightful ladies in the red chambers of the Yungkuofu, younger members of the Chia clan, numerous maids, wives and concubines of the male members of the family. All, both men and women, are dominated by the Matriarch, the *Chia mu* (mother of the Chia family). She is an amiable old woman, but because of her great age turns over the

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management to Phoenix, rapacious and scheming.

The hero of the story, if it has one besides the family, is the boy Pao-yu. He is the Matriarch's favorite grandson. A strange element in his history is that he was born with a jade stone in his mouth with Chinese characters engraved on both sides. This is one of the Taoist elements. The stone which has come down from heaven to experience the pleasures of the red dust, exerts a fateful influence on Pao-yu. At first it seems to presage a wonderful career, but he is a good-time Charlie, who does not care about studies. His father, a stern Confucian who tries to look after his son's education, has little success.

Into this park comes Black Jade, a motherless granddaughter of the Matriarch, a great beauty who has a good education and is of an exemplary chastity. At their first meeting she provokes Pao-yu into a rage, one of the standard clichés of the Chinese storyteller: "If they don't fight at first they'll never be friends," a hint that they are to become lovers. Immediately after meeting Black Jade, Pao-yu is instructed in the play of cloud and rain, one of the Chinese euphemisms for sex—in a dream, according to the story, but Chinese scholars believe that his partner was the lovely daughter-in-law of one of his relatives. Pao-yu tries his newfound knowledge with one of his maids, but this by no means limits the activities of the young man. The Yungkuofu is a whispering gallery, and Black Jade will hear of the adventures of Pao-yu.

At first Black Jade and Pao-yu have walked around in a daze holding hands, but naturally Pao-yu's activities lead to quarrels and misunderstandings. These are intensified when Precious Virtue, a cousin of Pao-yu's, comes to live in the Yungkuofu park. There is no question that they love each other, but after the arrival of Precious Virtue, there is in their story very little of the magical ardors of young love. (Some have called this a *Romeo and Juliet* story, but there was very little chance of that in their society, and of course one misses the sublime language of Shakespeare.)

Then Pao-yu loses his magical stone and his mind with it. The Matriarch, guided by the evil Phoenix, takes this opportunity to marry Pao-yu to Precious Virtue. Black Jade, already ill, dies of this disappointment. The stone is found again, Pao-yu recovers his reason and devotes himself to studies for the Imperial examinations, and passes them with high honors (not a likely story if we forget about the stone), which brings imperial favors to the family. But after the examination, when the mortal world of red dust seems rosiest, he abjures it and disappears into the Realm of Purified Semblance, the Taoist heaven, as a precious stone. The end is a classic of the Chinese storyteller's saying, "If you don't have a trick in it, you'll never finish the story."

The Dream of the Red Chamber has been called a great novel. If we are comparing it with Chinese *hsiao shuo*, the judgment is correct. But if we include novels of the West, it must be said that the Chinese novel has had no development comparable to its European or American analogues. As a picture of an alien culture it has real value and a greatness of its own.

Ocean Racing

One Hundred Hours to Bermuda

ARIES

"FELLOW LUNATICS"—the commodore of the Cruising Club of America called us to order, in June two years ago; the moment had come to distribute the awards. Harvey Conover is dead now, drowned at sea, with wife, friend, son, daughter-in-law; lost, off Key West, in a screeching gale on New Year's Eve. There was no presentiment, in his salutation to the largest regularly convened agglomeration of ocean sailors, of disaster. The Bermuda Race has been run twenty-one times; and only one man has been lost. The yachts are sound, the yachtsmen practised. When a modern boat is lost at sea, she has not yielded to routine perils of the sea; she has had an accident. Like Harvey Conover, whose 40-foot dreamboat was most probably run down by a heavy tanker which, in the deafening wind and tempestuous sea, was making its way as best it could, and had no eyes for sleek little racing yawls.

What Conover (who raced seven times to Bermuda) meant is that there is a lunatic quality in any man who voluntarily exposes himself to the rigors and aggravations of that passage, in that kind of boat. The moment was especially opportune, in June of 1956, for his characterization, for it had been the fastest and probably the roughest trip in the fifty-year history of the race. My first trip and—the thought crossed my mind as I bit at a salt-soaked sandwich while tugging at the helm, heeled over 35 degrees; or as I grappled in the claustrophobic reaches of the forepeak with yet another sail to drag up and hank on the base of a headstay which, like a submarine's periscope, slid in and out of the water; or as I lay sleepless in my tossing bunk, lusting after the comforts of a Carthusian cell, jets of water streaming in from a leaky deck, the waves pounding two inches from my ear upon the arching bow—surely, I thought, my last. But sailors, like lunatics, are, in their lunacy, predictable; and like Harvey Conover, we would be back and back again; for we had developed an appetite for the sea.

The fleet two weeks ago was record; the passage eventful. One hundred thirteen boats crossed the starting line. The sky was blue (the meteorologists said rain), the wind blew at 20 knots (they said 5 knots) from the northwest (they said southwest). Two years ago we did not see a boat ten hours out of Newport. This year steady winds kept the fleet moving almost as in formation, and Sunday evening we counted fourteen red sails framed against the sunset behind us; twenty minutes of enchantment. Every night (until the last) there were stars; and, to the amazement of the neophyte navigator, they occupied precisely the positions the almanac predicted:

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in His wisdom, our Maker did not leave it to the meteorologists to predict the position of the stars at night. On the last day came the hairshirt—fog, high, shifting winds, squalls, as the fleet, skirting the coral reefs that ambushed the great "Sea Venture," dispatched in 1609 from Plymouth to relieve the starving colony at Jamestown, groped its way to the finish line off St. David's Head. At the end as at the beginning, the fleet moved gregariously. Three quarters of the boats finished over a period of four hours.

We pulled away from the hectic finish line with its flares and searchlights and congestion and glided into the quiet anchorage of St. George's, at one in the morning, and dropped anchor. Those of us with wives pacing the widows' walks of the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club bar set out for land. I asked a companion, whose wife was not ashore, whether he intended to spend the night aboard the boat. "I'm going ashore," he said feelingly, "if I have to sleep on the street!"

My friend had been seasick. Fifty times? Eighty? Say continuously. Several times he announced himself as over the hump; and a few hours later he would arch over the rails in a movement as dexterous as the golf stroke of the professional. He lived on bouillon and Bonamine and promised to contribute a testimonial to the anti-motion-sickness company on arrival—"Bonamines I Have Barfed." On landing at St. George's he told me he intended to write an article which would consist of a minute-by-minute log of the typical hour aboard our boat during the race. The effect of the piece, he confidently predicts, will be to certify the insanity of all participants in the "sport"; and very possibly, by its exposure of the real nature of the ordeal, extirpate ocean racing from the civilized world.

It was an eloquent Philippic, and I almost found myself chanting, Lunacy must be destroyed! I did not argue. Disloyalty was not involved: I would rather surrender a position by default than by firing off dialectical weapons that are unloaded. What can one say? Not very much to the man who is seasick. (One might as well put forward the case for music to a deaf man.) One can speak, or try to, of the magic of the open sea. But it comes out banal, unless one is Joseph Conrad. (For those who haven't the opportunity to sail, the closest satisfaction can be had from inspecting Morris Rosenfeld's book of matchless photographs, *Under Full Sail.*) I have heard many attempts to justify the ordeal of the Bermuda Race, some of them shrewd and illuminating. Is our society becoming so congested by people and things and rules and events as to quicken the interest in the privacy of the seas? (Twice as much is being spent on boats in a year when half as much will be spent on cars.) Is it merely the thrills? (But they can be had on a 16-foot Comet race, sandwiched in between a three-course lunch and cocktail hour at home.) Is it the autonomy of the unit that moves through the water—decentralized life for sure? Out in Detroit, after fruitless searching for land on which to build an airport closer to town, there is semi-serious talk of freezing a few hundred acres of Lake Erie—and constructing the installations on an island of ice. Maybe the little ocean-going sailors of the future, fleeing One World, will go out under the stars, to some unpre-empted latitude, turn on the freezing machines, and start all over again?

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To the Editor

Brought up to Date

The New England Primer, Republican version:

In Adams' fall
We sinnèd all

JOSEPHINE POWELL BEATY

Barboursville, Va.

Unity of Armed Forces

I am sorry to see Mr. Bozell (whose opinions about national affairs generally I so respect and admire) speak out for continued disunity in the armed forces [June 14]. Or, at least, appear to do so.

This is not to defend President Eisenhower. His language was, indeed, curious. His action (or lack of action) has been even more curious. In 1947 testimony before a congressional committee, and in his *Crusade in Europe* he was an earnest advocate of unified command, yet as President he has done nothing save his recent feeble attempt.

Hanson Baldwin scarcely deserves the authority (on this subject) that Mr. Bozell seems to accord him. During the war he was an excellent, even brilliant, critic of divided command; since the war he has unaccountably advocated continuation of the separate services, which is the corollary of divided command.

I can have no sympathy for members of Congress who, while mouthing the need for civilian control, are so easily influenced by the separate services, more particularly by the Navy, and most especially by the Marine Corps.

New York City ALVIN BROWN

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Progressive Schools

I agree wholeheartedly with Russell Kirk's article "John Dewey Pragmatically Tested" [June 21]. My child who is bright and intelligent tends to flit from subject to subject as a result of the smatterings of education as provided in our progressive schools. The day must come when the purpose of education is again turned toward disciplining the mind and training the intellect, but not to socially adjust, build a new social order, or to "enrich."

Wantagh, N.Y. MARTHA BEUTEL

In his excellent critique of John Dewey, Russell Kirk states that the true purpose of formal education is the development of the truly human person for his own sake, and that education is the formal means for transmitting culture.

I would like to quote from the official statements of the ecclesiastical body into whose ministry I shall soon be ordained, the United Lutheran Church in America: "Education . . . seeks the progressive change of the person toward the goal conceived as defining the good person and the good society. It is concerned with the transmission of the cherished elements in the heritage of the educating group, not merely for the sake of transmission, but so that the heritage may be appropriated and utilized in meeting life's needs." . . .

I trust, as does Mr. Kirk, that posterity will not bless Dewey, but that it may have the sense to overcome his legacies.

Brooklyn, N.Y. BROOKE WALKER

Government Pay Increase

One editorial I could not enthuse over was "Off at the End" [June 21] that takes first prize for asininity. The article criticizes the increase in pay for government employees.

Reasonable research would establish, among other facts, the following: the time lapse since the last general increase; the great variance in increases with grade and present salary; the evening up of pay in the professional class, such as abolition of the 25 per cent bonus for Board certified medical specialists (of whom I am one).

Furthermore, the very unanimity of approval in the House should have alerted your editor that this was not a political move, but one of equity. . . . Frankly, I would not know which party to thank for this small raise. . . .

HERBERT H. SULLIVAN, M.D.

Little Rock, Ark.

McCarthyism Reconsidered

Frank Meyer's concise and objective analysis [June 14, "Principles and Heresies"] of the default of American intellectuals in the face of the Communist infiltration threat and the significance of the late Senator McCarthy's role is one of the most penetrating and excellent articles that I have read anywhere on that subject.

Philadelphia, Pa. FRANKLIN WALTMAN

"Mr. Nixon's Bitter Harvest"

Well said, Mr. Burnham! Your comments on "Mr. Nixon's Bitter Harvest" [May 31] are, alas, too true.

In South America, to generalize, you of the United States will be "damned if you do and damned if you don't," so why not react with a

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little of the spunk we all know is there?

Surely the State Department would do better by saying "Well, boys, from now on you clean out your own house, make it acceptable to free enterprise in the broadest sense of the phrase, and we will then provide what funds are needed for those projects that are not palatable to local or foreign private capital: in other words, help yourselves."

Buenos Aires, Argentina CARLOS CARO

James Burnham's article, "Mr. Nixon's Bitter Harvest," is more than outstanding. It should be framed and hung on the wall of every public high school classroom in the land, and in all state universities. . . . I could wish the State Department would be overwhelmed with angry protests over our milksop attitude when our citizens are insulted, our flag desecrated and our property destroyed. We should be just as tough with Russia as with any of the smaller countries, and put an end to this bullying.

North Miami, Fla. HENRY I. BAKER

NATIONAL TRENDS

(*Continued from p. 56*)

to enter non-teaching occupations. "Moreover, it appears that some of the teachers who leave, return at some later date, and that job changes are more frequent [by 40 per cent] *to* than *from* teaching."

Dogma. As the result of the increasing teacher shortage, the size of school classes is increasing. ". . . we now have so many classes with from 40 to 50 pupils [says the NEA] that some people have lost sight of the upper limit of 30 . . . approved many years ago. . . . In general, the larger the community, the worse the situation. . . ."

The ISSR asserts: "A review of available statistics shows that class sizes have been declining in virtually all urban school systems." The nation-wide teacher-pupil ratio is 1:25.6 (in 1956) and steadily decreasing. "There may be isolated instances where average class sizes or oversized classes increased for a short period. *But for the country as a whole, class sizes have been declining substantially, although apparently not as fast as school administrators and teacher organizations would have liked.*"

Dogma. Still, classes are far too large; and reducing them further must be one of the chief goals of modern education. A conference of elementary school supervisors, last year, considered the question: "Are there any research data favoring small classes?" "There seemed to be agreement," the U.S. Office of Education reported, "that common sense was so much on the side of small classes that research data would seem superfluous."

The ISSR surveyed "more than 200 research studies of class size and pupil achievement in the past half century," and discovered *"the amazing fact that . . . better than two to one . . . pupil achievement is higher in large than in small classes!"*

Dogma. Teachers are woefully underpaid; whatever raises they get are far less than the national average. Over the past twenty-five years (Harvard's Seymour Harris says) the increase in teachers' pay was "one third the increase for . . . the rest of the population."

ISSR shows that Professor Harris evidently took 1931 as his base—"a year when the income of the general population had just been sharply cut by the depression while teachers had not yet been affected by it." Using the prosperity years of 1929 and 1957 for the comparison, the results are quite different: earnings of all workers increased 82 per cent, compared with a 94 per cent increase for teachers. Some teachers, to be sure, are underpaid. And in fields where higher pay is available in private industry, notably the physical sciences, salaries are a cause of shortages. But the main obstacle in solving both of these problems is the teachers' associations' insistence on a single salary schedule: they "hope that the shortage in *some* fields will give them enough 'leverage' for raises across the board to *all*."

Dogma. Mammoth new construction programs are necessary to cope with the increasing shortage of school classrooms. ". . . we are almost 500,000 classrooms below what we should have," said Adlai Stevenson in 1956, and we are "falling behind at the rate of 50,000 classrooms a year."

ISSR concludes: "classroom shortages have been greatly exaggerated and are rapidly diminishing . . . In the fall of 1957, the Office of Education reported the then existing shortage at 140,400 classrooms and estimated a further decline to 128,000 by fall 1958 . . . *it appears that most states are constructing classrooms at a rate which, if maintained over the next twelve years, is adequate . . . major increases appear to be necessary only in about half a dozen states.*"

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